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CHAPEI IN FLAMES

TERROR IN SHANGHAI AND AFTER?

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WHAT IS SHANGHAI?

Shanghai is an international city. Shanghai is one of the largest ports in the world. Shanghai, by its significance and the extent of its trade, occupies the sixth place among the world's great ports. Shanghai is the largest economic centre of China, which is itself the largest semi-colony of international imperialism and one of the great industrial centres of the world. Almost half, about 40 per cent., of China's foreign trade passes through the port of Shanghai. Almost half of the textile industry, over one-third of the silk industry of China, is located in Shanghai. The biggest wharves, the biggest shipyards, the biggest printshops, and a vast number of light industries, are in Shanghai. Shanghai is the largest proletarian centre in all China. In Shanghai is to be found the flower of the Chinese proletariat.

Shanghai is one of the most important strategic points in all China and on the entire Pacific Ocean. It is the door to the valley of the Yangtze-Kiang, the largest river in China, and he who rules in Shanghai is the sovereign of the entire Yangtze-Kiang valley.

Only 80 years ago Shanghai was still an insignificant fishing village. Within a few decades it has developed into one of the largest trading and industrial centres in the world.

Shanghai is a cockpit of all the imperialist antagonisms. Secretly or openly, by devious or direct means, all the imperialist powers are carrying on a desperate struggle for every inch of land in Shanghai, for every commanding position in the economic and political life of this city.

The largest foreign banks, giant banks of international finance capital, are established in Shanghai; The Hong-Kong-Shanghai Bank, the Yokohama-Specie Bank, the National City Bank, the Indo-Chinese Bank, and many others—all of them have their branches there.

Foreign capital has founded most important factories in Shanghai. Half of the textile mills and more than half of the weaving mills in Shanghai are owned by Japanese capitalists. Two of the largest shipyards are controlled by English capital. The arsenal, although officially Chinese, is controlled by American capital. The cotton-mills, food enterprises and other industries are divided between the various imperialist powers.

The largest navigation companies in the world are struggling to capture Chinese trade. The power plant in the city is the fourth largest in the whole world, and is controlled by American capital. The United States, England, Japan, which are the largest imperialist robber-states, and have the largest interests in China, are fighting for Shanghai; but French, German, Dutch, Norwegian, Swedish, Danish and Italian capital is also represented in this city. Shanghai is, in this sense, an international city. However, only in this sense, for otherwise Shanghai is a Chinese city. Not only because this giant city was built up on the blood and bones of the Chinese workers; not only because this giant city absorbs a considerable amount of the life blood of the Chinese people and transfers it to the pockets of the imperialists, but also because the overwhelming majority of population consists of Chinese workers. The population of Shanghai consists of about 2,677,000 people. There are only 69,000 foreigners composed of various nationalities; 25,818 of them are Japanese. In the International Settlement there are 32,887 foreigners and 870,760 Chinese; in the French concession there are 12,932 foreigners and 434,807 Chinese.

THREE PARTS.

Shanghai is a Chinese city. At the same time Shanghai consists of three parts: of the so-called International Settlement, which consists in its turn of the English, German, American, Italian and Japanese concessions; of the French concessions; and finally of the Chinese city. The largest part of the Chinese city is called Chapei. The population of the International Settlement is 900,000. In the French concession there is a population of 500,000, and in the Chinese city the population exceeds 1,200,000.

What does this division of Shanghai into three parts signify? It signifies that in the International Settlement and in the French concession there is no Chinese authority, no Chinese law, no Chinese administration, no Chinese troops, and no Chinese police. All authority in the International Settlement is in the hands of the imperialists. There are foreign troops, foreign laws, foreign police and a foreign administration. Officially, the administration is in the hands of the city council. The city council is elected by taxpayers, practically by the foreign taxpayers only. Recently the foreign imperialists consented to include among the city council five representatives of the Chinese bourgeoisie, most of them compradors.*

Actually, however, it is not even the city council, composed for foreigners, that runs the city, but the Consular Corps (the

* Comprador—A merchant who acts as intermediary between foreign capital and the local market in China.

corps of foreign consuls). In the French concession all authority is in the hands of French imperialism. The supreme power there is the French government, which rules through the French Consul-General.

And over the Chinese city rules the counter-revolutionary Kuomintang, this bloc of Chinese bourgeoisie and landlords which is stained with the blood of the Chinese workers and peasants, this agency of foreign imperialism which is torn by internal contradiction. The Chinese part of the city, is mostly inhabited by workers and the impoverished city population. The Chinese part of Shanghai is a workers' city, a proletarian city.

A REVOLUTIONARY CENTRE.

Shanghai is one of the largest revolutionary centres in China. It is true that the cradle of the Chinese national revolution was in Canton, and that Hankow was one of the most important revolutionary centres in 1927, but, nevertheless, the most important events of the Chinese revolution were enacted in Shanghai. The fighting which took place in Shanghai on May 30th, 1925, gave rise to that gigantic revolutionary wave which created the Great Chinese Revolution of 1926-1927.

The Shanghai strike of 1925, which lasted for six months, roused the entire Chinese proletariat to take up the national-revolutionary struggle against the imperialists and against their own exploiters. The great class battles of the Shanghai proletariat serve as an example of resolution, self-sacrifice and splendid heroism, to the entire proletariat of China in the national-revolutionary and class struggle.

The Shanghai proletariat can boast of three heroic armed uprisings. In 1926 it was the armed Shanghai working class who overthrew the rule of the Chinese militarists and cleared the road to the city for the troops of the Canton government. Demonstrations, strikes and armed clashes of the Chinese proletariat with the imperialist troops and with the troops of the Chinese counter-revolution, gave a lesson to the whole proletariat of China after the temporary repression of the Chinese revolution of 1927. The Shanghai proletariat is not merely a menace to the Chinese bourgeoisie, it also has proved its strength, its valour, its bravery, prowess, and sacrifice in the struggle against world imperialism. Without the heroic struggle of the Shanghai proletariat, the Chinese working class would not have been able to assume the functions of leader and guide in China's anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution.

The Shanghai proletariat has caused the bourgeoisie of the whole world to tremble.

World imperialism has learned to known the strength of self-sacrifice, the militant resolution and revolutionary courage of the Shanghai workers.

There is hardly another city in the world where the apparatus of imperialist violence and counter-revolution is so strongly entrenched as in Shanghai. Even during the most " peaceful " days, even during the most " tranquil " periods, the battleships of the greatest imperialist powers are lying at anchor in the port of Shanghai. Dreadnoughts, cruisers, destroyers, gunboats, aircraft-carriers, are always lying in readiness in Shanghai harbour. The Shanghai workers must carry on their struggle under the very muzzles of the foreign cannon.

On the territory of the International Settlement the armies of all the greatest imperialist powers are represented. There are troops of the United States, England, Japan, France, Italy, always and forever ready to strike against the Chinese Revolution. In the Chinese city, the Chinese counter-revolution has concentrated its best military forces for the struggle against the revolutionary movement. In the International Settlement the police are recruited from among Chinese hirelings, Indians, Russian White Guardists, Japanese Fascists and promoted English N.C.O.s. This police force is maintained at the expense of the Chinese workers. Besides the police force there are in the International Settlement and also in the French concession so-called " volunteer " detachments organised out of the scum of humanity, out of the most infamous assassins and White Guardist bandits. A whole army of spies, agents, provocateurs and detectives are at the beck and call of the imperialists.

Among the police force of the French concession, Russian White Guardists, Chinese hirelings and the rest are also represented.

EXPLOITATION AND VICE.

World imperialism and the Chinese counter-revolution maintain a tremendous army and a huge navy in Shanghai, in order to protect the rule of the exploiters, in order to sanctify the oppression of the Chinese people by foreign capital. And here in Shanghai, this exploitation is developed to an unheard-of, monstrous, extent. Low wages, a fearfully long working-day, the absence of any labour legislation or of any safety devices for the protection of labour, the merciless exploitation of women and child labour, night work, wretched starvation wages, the selling of children, corporal punishment in the factories, humiliation, violence—such is the lot of the Shanghai proletariat.

Besides the ordinary forms of exploitation, Shanghai is one of the world's vilest centres of vice; Shanghai is the largest centre of the opium trade; Shanghai is one of the largest centres

of the white slave traffic; Shanghai is one of the largest centres of speculation, corruption and colonial crime. In Shanghai the buildings of the largest international banks, department stores, business firms and industrial enterprises, exist side by side with the most wretched hovels in which the impoverished Chinese workers have to live.

Side by side with the glittering palaces of the richest speculators may be seen the poverty-stricken shacks of the Chinese toilers. Side by side with the most lavish hotels, cafés and restaurants may be seen the hovels of the workers and coolies. Side by side with the extravagant and orgiastic life of speculators and exploiters, the Chinese workers and coolies are staring death and starvation in the face.

There is hardly any city in the world where wealth and poverty can be seen in such sharp contrasts as in Shanghai. Poverty, pauperism, hard labour, starvation and misery are concentrated in this Chinese city as in a bottle neck.

Shanghai is a city of imperialism and colonial revolution. Shanghai is a city of wealth and poverty; Shanghai is a city of revolution and counter-revolution. In Shanghai the warring interests of all the imperialist powers clash. Shanghai is one of those cities where all the antagonisms of our epoch are concentrated.

* * * *

CHAPEI SHOWS THE WORKERS.

The International Settlement and the French concession have been converted into an armed camp. Japanese airplanes are now flying over the Chinese city—over Chapei. Japanese airmen are dropping gas and incendiary bombs. Japanese artillery is bombarding Chapei day and night. Fires break out in the city. The moans of the dying and wounded are heard in the city. Corpses are strewn about in the streets of the city. Thousands and tens of thousands of old and young, men and women and children are being murdered. At the same time heavy firing and fierce fighting is going on at Woosung.

Chapei is not an armed camp. Chapei is an open city. And this unfortified open city is being bombarded by the Japanese fleet and the Japanese artillery. Since January 28th the troops of Japanese imperialism have been making ferocious attacks on this city, spraying the streets with machine gun bullets, making war on the peaceful population, destroying their houses, killing thousands and tens of thousands of people without mercy, and turning the city of the Chinese workers into a heap of smoking ruins. From a city of want, poverty and privation, Chapei has been converted into a city of destruction, ruin and death.

The name Chapei resounds throughout the world and calls forth indignation from all workers. Death reigns in Chapei. In Chapei imperialism in general, and Japanese imperialism in particular, has thrown off the mask. Chapei shows the whole world what the new world war will be like, what ghastly destruction and murder it has in store for all workers.

Behold Chapei! Behold the ruins of a city, the flames, the shattered houses, the heaps of corpses on the streets of the once peaceful city! Behold the bodies of murdered children, women and old men! Behold the bodies of the workers and soldiers shot in the cellars of the Japanese headquarters. Behold the detachments of Japanese troops making their rounds through the workers' quarters; how they search the dwellings; how they throw weeping infants out of the windows on to the streets, how they stab and murder; how they consign palaces and hovels to the flames; how their shells and bombs burn and destroy whole sections of the city! Behold the city of death and horror! Behold Chapei, and see what the international bourgeoisie is preparing for the world! What will your fate be like, what will the new world imperialist war be like, what will the new war of intervention be like, if the revolutionary struggle of the workers and peasants, if the national-revolutionary movement of the colonial peoples, if the strength of the U.S.S.R. and the resolute policy of the U.S.S.R. is not able to stop this new world catastrophe which is threatening all the workers of the world?

CHAPEI'S FATE OURS—UNLESS. . . .

Chapei's fate—the fate of the city of horror and death—will be, in part, our fate, too, if the English, Japanese, and French imperialists, the American bankers, the general staffs of all the bourgeois countries, and the instigators of a new world war succeed in spreading that fire, which is already raging in China, to all parts of the world, the fire of a new imperialist war, the fire of a new intervention.

Socialist construction is making gigantic strides forward in the U.S.S.R. The foundations of Socialist economy are already laid. The Five-Year Plan will be fulfilled in four years. Drafts of the Second Five-Year Plan guarantee the building of a classless Socialist society.

The capitalist world is in the throes of a world crisis. This has shaken the capitalist world to its very roots. Factories are being shut down; huge industrial giants are being consigned to the scrap-heap; millions and millions of people are being thrown out onto the street. Unemployment, poverty, starvation, the ruination of the peasants and all the toiling masses, the aggravation of the class struggle, the rise of the national

revolutionary movement, the accentuation of imperialist antagonisms! Fresh struggles between the countries which were victorious, and those which were defeated, in the World War.

BEATEN WORLD CAPITALISM WANTS WAR ON RUSSIA.

Two worlds have been competing in time of peace, and the capitalist system has been utterly defeated. The superiority of Socialism has been proved in practice. The defeated capitalist world is seeking a way out of the crisis. What it could not gain by peaceful competition, it wants to gain now by force of arms; it wants to prevent by armed force the building up of a Socialist society.

A class struggle is going on all over the world. The struggle is for two radically different ways out of the crisis: the capitalist way out, for which the bourgeoisie and the landlords are fighting, and the revolutionary way out, for which the proletariat and all working elements are fighting. The bourgeoisie is seeking a way out of the crisis by attacking the workers and peasants, by plundering the weak and dependent countries, by increasing the plunder in their colonies and semi-colonies.

The proletariat and the toiling peasantry are seeking a way out through revolution.

Chapei has become a city of horror and death because the imperialist bourgeoisie is seeking a way out of the crisis.

NEW IMPERIALIST WAR.

A new imperialist war has broken out in China. On September 18th, 1931, the Japanese imperialists began their military occupation of Manchuria. The Japanese bourgeoisie and the Japanese landlords are seeking a way out of the severest crisis that Japanese imperialism has ever known. They are crushing the Japanese workers by the lowering of wages, by inflation, by raising the cost of living, and by throwing more than two millions of them out on the streets. And even before this the Japanese workers had already been reduced to a semi-colonial standard of living by the Japanese bourgeoisie. The Japanese bourgeoisie and the Japanese landlords are attacking also the toiling peasantry of Japan. They are burdening the peasantry with a semi-feudal system of rent, with usury, taxes, high monopoly prices on those articles which they sell to the toilers, and low prices wrung by monopoly on those products which they buy from the peasantry. And even before this the Japanese poor formed no more than a colony of Japanese finance capital and the Japanese peasantry had been

reduced to a semi-colonial standard of living. The Japanese bourgeoisie and the Japanese landlords are attacking their own colonies : Korea and Formosa. There are massacres, killing off of whole tribes (in Formosa), pillaging of the countryside, unprecedented exploitation, failure of crops, hunger and death by starvation of tens of thousands of people.

In spite of all this, the crisis in Japan is becoming more and more severe. This is why the Japanese imperialists have started a new war in Manchuria. The war in Manchuria is a war against China and against the Chinese people. The programme of the Japanese imperialists includes the partition of China, and the seizure from China of Manchuria and Inner Mongolia, with a population of over 40 million persons. Japanese imperialism is planning to convert the provinces in Northern China into a semi-colony of its own.

AGAINST THE U.S.S.R.

However, this is not the whole story. The significance and the reasons of the war in Manchuria go further than that. This war is directed against the U.S.S.R. Japanese imperialism is making Manchuria a jumping-off place for a new war, for a new intervention against the U.S.S.R. Provocation is rampant. Preparations for war and intervention are already in full swing.

The war in Manchuria is directed against the Chinese Revolution, against the Chinese Soviets and their Red Army. The Chinese Soviets and their Red Army have developed into a tremendous revolutionary power. One-sixth of China, composing no less than 80 million people, is already under Soviet rule.

The counter-revolutionary Kuomintang, at the dictation of world imperialism, has made three attacks on a large scale against the Chinese Soviets. All the three attacks were defeated. And in spite of the intervention of foreign troops, warships and aircraft, the workers' and peasants' armies of the Chinese Soviets are winning one victory after another. The actions of Japanese imperialism point to their readiness to intervene against the Chinese Soviets.

The Japanese imperialists have started a war in Manchuria in order to erect a new great wall of China, a black counter-revolutionary barrier between revolutionary China and the U.S.S.R.; a barrier of imperialism and counter-revolution against the U.S.S.R. and the Chinese Revolution from the Sea of Okhotsk to the Yellow River.

The Japanese imperialists have started a war in Manchuria in order to raise the question of the partition of China,

in order to strengthen and reinforce their position on the Pacific Ocean in their struggle against other imperialist powers, the U.S.A. in particular.

This is why Chapei has become a city of horror and death; this is why Japanese airplanes are dropping bombs; this is why Japanese troops are murdering unarmed citizens, women and children in Chapei, in Woosung, in Nanking, in Swatow and Tientsin; this is why they are converting a human ant-hill into a cemetery; this is why scenes are now being enacted in Chapei and Woosung, in the cities and villages of Manchuria, and in the valley of the Yangtze River, in Swatow and in Nanking, the like of which have not been witnessed in the most shameful history of imperialist wars.

This is why the savagery, brutality, cruelty and merciless murdering of unarmed people has gone to such brazen lengths.

THE BOURGEOISIE PRONOUNCE . . . .

The present events in Chapei are opening up a new chapter in the most disgraceful history of colonial robbery and imperialist war. We cull our testimony from bourgeois sources only. Let the bourgeoisie itself pronounce the verdict on its own reign. For any social system which safeguards itself by such brutality and such barbarism, must pronounce its own death sentence.

How, then, did the war in Chapei begin?

All the bourgeois sources, including even the Japanese, describe the course of events preceding the bombardment as follows: A boycott against Japanese goods was begun in Shanghai in answer to the imperialist attack and the military occupation of Manchuria. The Chinese population refused to buy Japanese products. This movement took on nation-wide dimensions, and, in spite of the action of the Nanking government and of the Kuomintang authorities, it caused very serious injury to Japanese trade. The Japanese factories in China were producing merely to fill the warehouses. Goods brought in from Japan remained unloaded in the ports, and the boycott movement spread from China to the other Far-Eastern markets of Japanese imperialism. In Indonesia, in Indo-China, in the Malay Islands, in the South Sea Islands, in Jamaica, and in Siam, trading is largely in the hands of the Chinese. The boycott against Japanese goods was carried on, and is still being carried on in these countries. Besides this, it goes without saying that even the allies of Japanese imperialism, such as France, are making use of this movement in order to gain the markets from Japanese imperialism, and so step into its shoes in this respect. England and the United States have

made use of this " advantageous situation," and taken possession of those markets of the Japanese imperialists which the boycott has opened to them. Within a few months Japanese foreign trade with these countries has decreased by 60 per cent.

In order to break the boycott movement, in order to extend the sphere of military action, in order to raise the whole question of the partition of China, and in order to strengthen its position in Central China as well, the Japanese imperialists, with the Japanese Admiral Yoshizava as their mouthpiece, presented an ultimatum to the mayor of the Chinese city of Shanghai, demanding that the boycott be discontinued, that those guilty of taking part in this movement be punished, and that the Japanese goods confiscated during the boycott be returned. As was to be expected, the mayor of the Chinese city accepted the Japanese ultimatum at the order of the Nanking government and the Kuomintang. The Kuomintang and the Nanking government capitulated before the demands of the Japanese imperialists.

This was on January 27th. And, during the night of January 28th, English, French, American and Japanese troops were posted on the frontiers of the International Settlement which borders on the Chinese city, so as to defend, in case of need, " the lives and property " of their citizens.

The Japanese troops, however, were not satisfied with gaining their objective, and began to attack Chapei. Without any warning, without even a declaration of war, without giving an opportunity for the peaceful population to leave the scene of action, the Japanese artillery opened fire, Japanese bombing planes began to drop bombs on the city, and Japanese infantry and marines, supported by the artillery, bombers and machine-gunners, began a savage assault on Chapei. This is how the mass murder began; this is how the killing of Chinese workers in Chapei started.

Was this nothing but an accident? Was it nothing but an accident that the Japanese imperialist descended upon one of the largest proletarian centres, bringing death and destruction to it? No, it was not an accident. Japan carried through this " policy " in Manchuria also. The military occupation of Manchuria began with the bombardment of the Mukden arsenal, one of the largest plants in Manchuria, and with the massacre of the miners in Fu-Shun and the metal workers in Anshan. The Japanese imperialists are trying to inflict the direct and most terrible blows on the revolutionary working class of China.

EVIDENCE.

" The bombardment of Chapei continues day and night. Fires have broken out in the city. Countless numbers of

people have been killed. The streets are filled with dead bodies. Airmen of the Japanese army are dropping incendiary bombs " (*Berliner Tageblatt*, January 3rd).

" Japanese troops, after fierce fighting, in which the Chinese displayed extraordinary valour and courage, succeeded in occupying several sections of Chapei. The Japanese troops are now going from house to house in these sections, searching every dwelling, stabbing, and killing unarmed citizens " (*Vossische Zeitung*, February 3rd).

" The Japanese staff has mobilised and armed some of the civilian population, forming military detachments out of them. These detachments go the rounds of the Chinese quarters, taking prisoner many Chinese citizens, including women and children, and despatching them to the Japanese headquarters. Hundreds and thousands of people have already been despatched to the headquarters in this way. Not one of these has yet come out alive from the Japanese headquarters. During the night, dead bodies are carted away in trucks from the Japanese headquarters " (*Frankfurter Zeitung*, February 2nd.)

" The bombing of the city has been going on since January 28th. This bombing has claimed countless victims in Chapei, which is a human ant-hill. Japanese reports maintain that the airmen were instructed to bomb only the railroad station where Chinese armoured trains are said to be located. However, these reports do not correspond with the facts. The Japanese airmen fly so high and drop their bombs so carelessly that it is quite evident that the destruction of the entire city is intended " (*Times*, February 2nd).

" The action of the Japanese troops has evoked indignation from even the foreign circles in Shanghai. At the suggestion of these foreign circles an armistice was twice concluded between the Japanese and the Chinese. The Japanese admiral declared his readiness for an armistice, adding, however, that he must receive final consent from Tokio. It is not known what instructions Admiral Yoshizava received from his government in Tokio, but the fact remains that he violated the armistice and, without any warning, began to bombard Chapei and, later, Woosung. He did not inform either the foreign or the Chinese troops that he was going to begin the bombardment. Many parts of Chapei are in flames " (*Evening Post*, February 3rd).

" The Chinese soldiers and the Chinese population are displaying extraordinary valour, heroism and self-sacrifice in defending their city. The Japanese troops are wreaking vengeance on the population with unusual cruelty. The following facts called forth indignation even in foreign circles. Japanese reports maintain that one of the largest buildings in Chapei, where the " Odeon " Cinema is situated, served as a hiding

place for Chinese snipers. In spite of the fact that these rumours were not substantiated, Japanese airmen bombed the building; it was subjected to a hail of shell-fire, and finally, the Japanese troops poured kerosene over it and set the immense building on fire, without giving the inhabitants a chance to save themselves " (*Berliner Tageblatt*, February 4th).

" Chinese soldiers and civilians are building barricades in the streets in order to prevent the Japanese troops from breaking through. Those sections where such barricades have been built have undergone a torrent of fire from the Japanese artillery and a bombardment of incendiary and gas bombs from the air, in spite of the fact that in these sections there were still thousands and thousands of inhabitants, among whom were women, children and invalids " (*Evening Post*, February 3rd).

The *North China Daily News*, the most venomous and mercenary organ of English imperialism in China, writes as follows :—

" We are receiving a great number of letters from eye-witnesses who have seen the unheard-of cruelties and brutalities perpetrated by the Japanese troops. We have received these letters from absolutely reliable sources. We refrain from publishing them, for they are likely to pour oil upon the flames."

This is what the bourgeois press writes. This is what imperialist organs write. Such evidence is given by imperialist hack-writers.

" RE-DIVIDING WHAT HAS BEEN DIVIDED."

This is how Chapei was transformed into a city of horror and death. This is the example given by the Japanese imperialists of what horror and destruction are in store for the whole world, if the revolutionary struggle does not thwart the instigators of a new war and a new intervention.

A new war has started in China. A new intervention is in preparation in China. The question of repartitioning the world has come to a head, and the imperialist plunderers have started a war for the " redivision of what has already been divided " (Lenin). We must not imagine that war is far off, that it is going on only in China. The Chinese question is a world-wide question. The Japanese imperialists are acting with the consent and support of a number of other imperialist powers. French imperialism is acting as the gendarme of the counter-revolution in Europe, and is in league with Japanese imperialism, the gendarme of the counter-revolution in the Far East. The Chinese question is linked up not only with all the problems and all the antagonisms of

the Pacific Ocean; it is also linked up with all other international problems. English Conservatives who employ Macdonald, Snowden, Thomas and other "Socialists" as stalking horses, are already scheming to conclude an Anglo-Japanese alliance for the perpetration of a new imperialist war.

As soon as the first shot was fired in Manchuria, the French imperialists immediately offered military loans to their vassals, Poland, Rumania, Czecho-Slovakia, etc. The French imperialists are exerting all their powers to attract Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria into an alliance with them. French imperialism is arming and preparing its own troops and the troops of its vassals from the Arctic Ocean to the Black Sea against the U.S.S.R., against the German people, and against the German revolution.

As soon as the first shot was fired on the distant plains of Manchuria, negotiations began between the French and English governments for the creation of "a united front." There is no need to mention against what government and what country this "united front" will be directed. The U.S.A. is already sending its battleships to the islands of Haiti. All the munition plants of the world are working at full capacity distributing tremendous dividends. Transportation of ammunition, war equipment and rifles is going on at a feverish tempo never before witnessed. The international stock exchange reeks with blood. The shares of the munition industries are soaring. The question of whether a way out of the crisis will take the form of a new war is being discussed in the bourgeois press of the U.S.A. and of France. The tangled skein of international politics is now balanced on a razor's edge. Reparations, war debts, the new enslavement of Germany, the partition of China, the distribution of the colonies, the redistribution of markets, raw materials and economic territories for the use of capital, the distribution of control over the trade routes and strategic points—in a word, the redivision of what has already been divided—is all being discussed.

Nevertheless, the antagonisms of international politics are becoming more and more accentuated. Because there is a struggle between two worlds; because Socialist construction is triumphant in the U.S.S.R.; because, in the U.S.S.R., the foundations for Socialist economy have already been laid, and the Second Five-Year Plan has adopted as its goal the creation of a classless Socialist society; because there is a struggle between two worlds; because in the whole world where capitalism rules there is a struggle for two ways out of the crisis—the capitalist way and the revolutionary way.

This is why Chapei has been converted into ruins—into a city of horror and death.

" LABOUR " HELPING WAR.

The imperialist beasts of prey have already begun war!

Japanese imperialism has begun war. The League of Nations is disguising the fact of this war, but at the same time fanning the flames and spreading the conflagration throughout the world. The imperialists are preparing a new intervention against the U.S.S.R., against the country which is building Socialism. The imperialists are preparing the intervention against the Chinese Soviets in order to drown the great Chinese Revolution in the blood of the Chinese workers and peasants.

Take a look at what the Second International is doing! Henderson, the chairman of the Second International is also chairman of the Disarmament Conference. He makes speeches there, trying to fool the workers, and to imbue them with the belief that the League of Nations and the Disarmament Conference are a means of peace and not of war.

One of the French Socialist leaders, Paul Boncour, is now chairman of the League of Nations Council, and is making speeches about peace, about reconciliation, about the great functions and the noble rôle of the League of Nations, in order to fool the workers, in order to imbue them with the idea that war has not yet begun, that there will be no new world war, and that no new intervention is threatening the U.S.S.R. Lansbury, the leader of the English Labour Party, makes a speech and " demands " that the League of Nations, this organiser of war, should stop war. He actually asks in the House of Commons if there was no power that could influence the Japanese to fight the Chinese elsewhere than in the International Settlement! And at the same time this same Lansbury expresses his admiration of Simon, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of English imperialism, who is trying to form a new system of imperialist alliances against the U.S.S.R. and against the Chinese people, for the partition of China, for oppression in the Colonies, and for the spread of a new imperialist war.

Or read the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, the organ of Austrian Social-Fascism, and *Vorwärts*, the most infamous organ of the German Social-Fascists. What are they talking about? They are talking about the League of Nations, and saying that war is not threatening the U.S.S.R., and that a war such as is now taking place in China is impossible in Europe. They are " indignant " at the destruction of Chapei, but only in order to seduce the vigilance of the workers, only to deceive and to fool the workers and to disorganise them, to paralyse the revolutionary struggle against war, and against intervention, the struggle in defence of the U.S.S.R., and in defence of

China. They do it in order to convince the workers that Manchuria is far away, that Shanghai and Harbin do not concern them, that war is not threatening Europe.

Read the speeches of the Social-Fascists, read all the organs of the Second International, and you will become convinced of the fact that in no single country have the Social-Fascists found a single word to say against their governments, against the imperialists, against the bourgeoisie, against those who are instigating war in their own countries. The English Labourites kept their mouths shut when the question of English imperialism's military preparations was discussed. The French Socialists and Social-Fascists feign blindness when the question of French imperialism comes up. The Czecho-Slovakian Social-Fascists pretend not to see how Czecho-Slovakia has been converted into an arsenal of war against the U.S.S.R. And the entire Second International is deaf, dumb and blind when questions about the transportation of ammunition, troops and war supplies are raised.

All the parties of the Second International support their governments and their bourgeoisie. Japanese Socialists of every sort and kind came out openly for the support of war in Manchuria at their congresses and conferences. Japanese Socialists support the war of the Mikado, the predatory, reactionary, counter-revolutionary war of Japanese imperialism. The Japanese Socialists, with utter cynicism, quite brazenly and openly went over to side with their bourgeoisie and their landlords. They show us what the Second International and all the parties of the Second International would do in case of war.

SNEAKING INTO WAR.

The imperialists have started war. The Japanese imperialists were the first. The new world war is not beginning in the same way as the war of 1914. To-day, war does not "break out," it is not declared. To-day the imperialists sneak into war, preparing intervention against the U.S.S.R. The great secret of the origin of the new imperialist war, of new intervention against the U.S.S.R., lies precisely in this method of sneaking into war and intervention. The great secret of the new imperialist war and intervention lies in the fact that the League of Nations is shrieking the most hysterical pacifist demogogy at this very moment. The Second International is now redoubling its efforts to hoodwink the masses, and now, when the war is already in progress, when blood is being shed like water, Manchuria occupied and Chapei and Wusun reduced to ashes—at this very moment the Disarmament Conference meets! The imperialists are sneaking into a new war, a new intervention against the U.S.S.R., and the League of Nations,

the Hendersons, the Boncours, the MacDonalds, the Otto Bauers, and the rest, are solemnly holding conferences and making speeches for peace while the entire Second International is trying to fool the workers with the slogan of " no more war." The Second International is now carrying on its world-wide campaign under the slogan, " no more war," in order to disarm the workers, in order to keep the workers quiet, in order to hide from the masses the fact that war has already begun, and that the imperialists, with the full support of the Second International, are already worming themselves into war and intervention.

The great secret of the origin of a new war lies precisely in this distribution of rôles. The parts have already been assigned. War has already been started. Shanghai, Harbin, Nanking and Swatow—these names must sound the alarm for the entire world proletariat!

If you do not want hundreds and thousands of cities to be converted into cities of horror and death like Chapei—if you do not want these gold-braided generals and admirals to give the order for the murder of your wives, children and parents—

THEN, RISE UP AGAINST WAR!

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